

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 04458 01 OF 02 190725Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12
TRSE-00 /078 W
-----123569 191141Z /21

R 161642Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6050
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPORTO POUCH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
USMISSION USNATO
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
COMUSFORAZ

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 4458

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PINT PO
SUBJECT: DISSENSION AMONG THE PRESIDENT'S MEN

REF: 77 LISBON 6725 (NOTAL) (DTG 301116Z AUG 77)

SUMMARY: CIVIL HOUSEHOLD CHIEF HENRIQUE GRANADEIRO SAYS THERE
IS A WIDENING SPLIT WITHIN THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF WHICH TENDS
TO PIT THE CIVILIANS AGAINST MILITARY MEN. PROTAGONISTS ON
BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT A SOLUTION WILL PROBABLY ONLY COME
THROUGH A MAJOR PERSONNEL SHAKEUP. IN THE MEANTIME, INFIGHTING
AMONG THE STAFFERS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO REDUCE THE INSTITUTIONAL
CAPACITY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND TO ENCOURAGE EANES TO LOOK
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 04458 01 OF 02 190725Z

ELSEWHERE FOR COUNSEL. END SUMMARY.

1. SOLDIERS VS. CIVILIANS: DURING A JUNE 12 CONVERSATION
WITH THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR, PRESIDENTIAL HOUSEHOLD CHIEF
HENRIQUE GRANADEIRO LAMENTED WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A WIDENING
SPLIT WITHIN THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF. ALTHOUGH THE RIFT TENDS
TO PIT CIVILIANS AGAINST MILITARY MEN, IT CANNOT BE EXPLAINED

ENTIRELY IN THIS MANNER. ACCORDING TO GRANADEIRO, THE ISSUE IS BEST DEFINED IN TERMS OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN PORTUGUESE POLITICS.

2. THE SOLDIERS: ACCORDING TO GRANADEIRO, THOSE FAVORING A CONTINUING ROLE FOR THE MILITARY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS ARE LED BY THE PRESIDENT'S TOP UNIFORMED STAFFERS INCLUDING MILITARY HOUSEHOLD CHIEF BG GARCIA DOS SANTOS, CHIEF OF CABINET LTC BARROCO, AND INTELLIGENCE ADVISOR LTC ESPIRITO SANTO. FROM THE CIVIL HOUSEHOLD, THE GROUP INCLUDES LABOR ADVISOR MAJ FONSECA DE ALMEIDA, POLITICAL ADVISOR JOAQUIM AGUIAR, AND COMMUNICATIONS ADVISOR MANUEL SILVA E COSTA. ARMY AIDE MAJ MOREIRA DIAS SOMETIMES ALSO BACKS THE GROUP. THE NAVY AND AIR FORCE AIDES, CDR GOMES TEIXEIRA AND LTC ESTEVENS, HOWEVER, HAVE THUS FAR AVOIDED BEING DRAWN INTO THE CONTROVERSY.

3. THE CIVILIANS: IN ADDITION TO GRANADEIRO HIMSELF, THOSE FAVORING A CONTINUING WITHDRAWAL OF THE MILITARY FROM POLITICS INCLUDE LEGAL ADVISOR MACEDO DE ALMEIDA, ECONOMIC ADVISOR JOSE MATOS TORRES, AND DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR LUIS MARTINS, WHOM GRANADEIRO DESCRIBED AS AN EXCELLENT PROFESSIONAL WHO TRY'S TO STAY ABOVE THE FRAY. ECONOMIC ADVISOR GUIMARAES USUALLY SUPPORTS GRANADEIRO BUT ALSO SEEKS TO PROTECT HIMSELF BY LOOKING FOR COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 04458 01 OF 02 190725Z

4. NARROWING THE ISSUE: THE ISSUE WHICH SEPARATES THE TWO GROUPS IS NOT A STRONG PRESIDENCY VS. A COMPLIANT ONE, GRANADEIRO STRESSED, BUT RATHER THE ROLE OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, SPECIFICALLY THE MILITARY AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES. THE "MILITARISTS" FAVOR A CONTINUING ROLE FOR MILITARY MEN IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING, EVEN SHOULD THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IN ITS CURRENT FORM BE ABOLISHED. MILITARY STAFFERS LIKE GARCIA DOS SANTOS ARE PREPARED TO TOLERATE THE PARTIES BUT ONLY IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION. MILITARY MEN IN THE PRESIDENCY WOULD CONTINUE TO PULL THE STRINGS BEHIND THE SCENES. THE CIVILIANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE OPENLY AGAINST FURTHER MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING. THEY FAVOR AN END TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND SIMILAR MILITARY ADVISORY GROUPS AS SOON AS PERMISSABLE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. THE CIVILIANS SUPPORT A STRONG ROLE FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES BUT ALSO BACK AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIRST FORMATIVE YEARS OF PORTUGAL'S NEW DEMOCRACY. THE PRESIDENCY WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN ESTABLISHING THE BASIC GROUND RULES FOR A DEMOCRATIC STATE. AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD INTERVENE ACTIVELY TO ENSURE THE RULES ONCE ESTABLISHED WERE OBEYED BY ALL, MILITARY

MAN AND CIVILIAN ALIKE.

NOTE BY OC/T: TELEGRAM DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 04458 02 OF 02 190853Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12
TRSE-00 /078 W

-----123864 190856Z /20

R 161642Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6051
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL OPORTO POUCH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA
USMISSION USNATO
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
COMUSFORAZ

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 4458

5. THE COMING SHOWDOWN: GRANADEIRO SAID THINGS COULD NOT CONTINUE AS THEY ARE. HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO WORK UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH HIS EFFORTS ARE UNDERMINED AT EVERY TURN. HE WAS PREPARED TO RESIGN, IF THE ONLY ANSWER APPEARED TO BE A "ROCHA VIEIRA" SOLUTION, I.E. GRANADEIRO'S RESIGNATION TOGETHER WITH THAT OF THE TOP MILITARY STAFFERS AS THE PRELUDE TO A THOROUGH REORGANIZATION UNDER A NEW CHIEF OF CIVIL HOUSEHOLD WITH A STRONGER MANDATE. BEFORE THIS, HOWEVER, GRANADEIRO SAID HE WOULD TRY TO SET THE ISSUE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT IN A WAY TO ENABLE EANES TO MAKE A CLEAR DECISION IN FAVOR OF THE CIVILIANS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 04458 02 OF 02 190853Z

6. ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE: ARMA BELIEVES THE MILITARY MEN CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT ARE FAR FROM HOLDING MONOLITHIC VIEWS, AS GRANADEIRO SUGGESTS. VIRTUALLY ALL WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE MILITARY PULL OUT OF POLITICS, BUT THEY ARE DIVIDED AS TO WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES. ARMA'S ASSESSMENT OF THE TOP MILITARY STAFFERS:

-- BRIG GARCIA DOS SANTOS: PROBABLY THE BEST MILITARY REFLECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS. DOS SANTOS BELIEVES THAT EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES - SPECIFICALLY WHAT HE REGARDS AS FRAGILE STABILITY IN THE ARMED FORCES - PRECLUDE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE MILITARY FROM POLITICS. HE THINKS THE MILITARY MEN WHO MADE THE REVOLUTION ARE STILL UNWILLING TO ACCEPT A GOP WITH NO MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE THEY SEE THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION THREATENED BY CIVILIAN INACTION OR INCOMPETENCE. DOS SANTOS DOES NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THIS VIEW HIMSELF BUT ACCEPTS THE NECESSITY OF EASING THE MILITARY OUT VERY GRADUALLY, AS THE GOP DEMONSTRATES ITS ABILITY TO PERFORM OVER TIME.

--LTC BARROCO: AN ACTIVIST, INVOLVING HIMSELF IN CONTEMPORARY EVENTS, BUT APPEARS NOT TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH LONG TERM THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE MILITARY IN POLITICS.

-- LTC ESPIRITO SANTO: REGARDS HIMSELF LESS AS AN ADVISOR THAN A PROVIDER OF INFORMATION. HE CLAIMS NOT TO SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE PRESIDENT, BUT TO INFORM HIM. ESPIRITO SANTO THINKS THAT THE MEMBERS OF BOTH THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY HOUSEHOLDS HAVE RUN OUT OF STEAM, IDEAS, AND INITIATIVE AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE REPLACED, HIMSELF INCLUDED. HE HAS SO RECOMMENDED TO THE PRESIDENT.

-- MAJ FONSECA DE ALMEIDA: A PRESIDENTIAL TROUBLESHOOTER WITH A REPUTATION OF BEING A LEFTIST OF SORTS. HIS VIEWS ON THE MILITARY IN POLITICS ARE PROBABLY TIED TO THE ENJOYMENT HE DERIVES FROM HIS CURRENT POSITION OF INFLUENCE.

-- MAJ MOREIRA DIAS: ALSO REGARDED BY HIS COLLEAGUES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 04458 02 OF 02 190853Z

AS A LEFTIST BUT HAS LITTLE INFLUENCE ON PRESIDENTIAL DECISIONMAKING.

7. COMMENT: GRANADEIRO, A CONSERVATIVELY-INCLINED POLITICAL INDEPENDENT, IS A MAN OF STRONG CONVICTIONS; HE TENDS TO BE IMPATIENT WITH THOSE WHO SEE THINGS LESS CLEARLY. DURING THE COURSE OF THE PAST YEAR, GRANADEIRO HAS INCREASINGLY COME TO RESENT WHAT HE REGARDS AS AN INORDINATE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE ON THE PRESIDENT BY HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES. THE PRESIDENT'S TENDENCY TO SEEK THE GUIDANCE AND COMPANY OF THOSE IN UNIFORM PUTS HIS CIVILIAN STAFFERS AT A DECIDED DISADVANTAGE IN THE

COMPETITION FOR ACCESS. WHILE DIFFERENCES ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO SIMMER FOR SOME TIME BELOW THE SURFACE, THE BREACH WITHIN THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF ALREADY SEEMS TOO WIDE TO PAPER OVER. PROTAGONISTS ON BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT A SOLUTION WILL COME ONLY THROUGH A MAJOR SHAKEUP IN PERSONNEL. IN THE MEANTIME, INFIGHTING AMONG STAFFERS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO REDUCE THE INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND TO ENCOURAGE EAMES TO LOOK ELSEWHERE FOR COUNSEL.
OKUN

NOTE BY OCT: TELEGRAM DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CABINET, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LISBON04458
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780254-1126
Format: TEL
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780651/aaaabrui.tel
Line Count: 236
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 17d65087-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 LISBON 6725
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2324184
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DISSENSION AMONG THE PRESIDENT'S MEN
TAGS: PINT, PO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/17d65087-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014